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ABSTRACT

This document contains a literature review of publications discussing the concept of Black Power. Attention is paid to defining black power from various perspectives. The movement is also discussed as to the extent and demography of its support. A second section of the paper deals with white reactions to the black power movement. This is undertaken longitudinally and regionally. A final section discusses some of the problems endemic to carrying out research in the black community in the light of the changed orientations following in the wake of the black power movement. Throughout the paper, emphasis is laid upon the difficulty of drawing valid conclusions about the movement as a result of the rapid change of the black community. The time required to collect and analyze data is often too long to permit the publication of valid findings. Indicative of this problem is the report itself. There is here virtually no discussion of the Black Panther organization and its effect on the black power movement. This gap, of course, reflects the lack of published data descriptive of this group. Such studies undoubtedly are in progress, but without them, no statement of the black poser movement can be considered as being totally up-to-date. (Author/JM)

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Illinois Studies of the Economically Disadvantaged

BLACK POWER AND SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH

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Technical Report No. 2

December, 1969

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Preface

This is the second report in a new series which will be concerned with the economically disadvantaged. We plan to test the assumption that economic disadvantages create characteristic ways of perceiving and thinking about the social environment. We call such characteristic perceptions the "subjective culture" of a particular group. We expect to find characteristic differences in the subjective cultures of blacks and whites who differ in level of economic advantage. We suspect that such differences in subjective culture lead to major barriers in communication between an employee and his supervisors, his fellow employees and his subordinates. Our plan is to determine the differences in subjective culture, by employing a battery of newly developed procedures, tailormade to detect cultural differences; we then plan to incorporate this information in specially designed training programs; finally, we hope to test the effectiveness of these training programs by examining the effects of training on employee satisfaction, turnover, absenteeism, and similar measures of occupational stability.

The present report is concerned with the concept of black power and how it is likely to affect the project described in the previous paragraph. We are interested in black power not only because it has implications concerning the way we do research in the black ghetto, but also because it is likely to interact with the kinds of information that we will obtain. Certainly a movement as important as the black power movement must be understood by anyone interested in discussing black America today.

It is hoped that many on our mailing list will be interested in this summary of the major issues raised by the black power movement.

Harry C. Triandis

BLACK POWER AND SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH

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Abstract

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A second section of the paper deals with white reactions to the black power movement. This is undertaken longitudinally and regionally.

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Throughout the paper emphasis is laid upon the difficulty of drawing valid conclusions about the movement as a result of the rapid change of the black community. The time required to collect and analyze data is often too long to permit the publication of valid findings. Indicative of this problem is the report itself. There is here virtually no discussion of the Black Panther organization and its effect on the black power movement. This gap, of course, reflects the lack of published data descriptive of this group. Such studies undoubtedly are in progress, but without them no statement of the black power movement can be considered as being totally up-to-date.

BLACK POWER AND SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH[1]

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On November 8, 1966, the citizens of Lowndes County, Alabama went to the polls to elect a new slate of County Officers. What makes this election, and many others at this time, notable, is that for the first time in almost a century Negro citizens here were not only registered to vote but had the choice of exercising their franchise in favor of a number of black candidates including membership on the Board of Education and even a black candidate for Sheriff. The fact that none of the black candidates were elected is not of great significance to us at the moment. The important point to be made is that there was a considerable chance that the county could have awakened November 9 with an all-black slate of candidates elected. Even the candidate for Sheriff who was most soundly defeated received over 40% of the votes in a two candidate race.

Lowndes County is in no way a more progressive county racially. It is located in the Black Belt in the Deep South, and has seen its share of racial violence. The county adjoins that of Dallas County, the site of Selma and the location of the murder of Mrs. Viola Liuzzo. It also adjoins Montgomery County, another bed of racial violence and upheaval. A mere twenty months earlier not one black citizen was registerd to vote and now over 3,900 were casting their ballots for a slate of black men, not chosen or endorsed by the white community,

but selected by the black community itself in opposition to, and in the face of, considerable pressure from the White Power Structure. Clearly great changes were taking place. Many blacks were no longer content to accept the proposition that "politics is white man's business." They were ready to take their place as viable citizens of the county and the country, willing and eager to exercise some measure of control over their political destiny. It is the intention of this paper to examine some aspects of social change in race relations which have lead to such a sequence of events, (Carmichael & Hamilton, 1967).

The situation described in Lowndes County and indeed occurring throughout the country is almost directly representative of the development of "Black Power," a movement which is greatly misunderstood in the White community and which has had considerable effect on the relations between Blacks and Whites and will undoubtedly be felt to a much greater extent as time goes by. As mentioned we shall deal with various aspects of the revolutionary change in the Black community. While the "Black Power" movement is a major part of this "revolution" it is by no means the entire picture. However, it is undoubtedly the most important aspect of recent racial change.

Black unrest, violence, and riots are not a new development in the racial picture in the United States. The three centuries of Negro residence in the United States have been marked by numerous minor and major uprisings. Silberman (1964) notes five race riots occurred in Philadelphia in the 1830's and 1840's in which Negro churches, meeting halls, and homes were burned to the ground. In 1919 a five day race riot took place in Chicago in which 15 whites and 23 Negroes were killed

and hundreds injured. Neither are black non-violent protest movements a particular development of the 1960's. In the early 1900's Marcus Garvey lead an outspoken Black Nationalist Movement which stressed a separation from contact with the white community and ultimate relocation back to Africa. The basis of Garveyism was the plea for self-determinism, racial separation, and Black pride. Almost a century ago the slogan "Black Power in Dixie" was not unfamiliar as a part of Reconstruction.

Nontheless, in spite of the history of unrest the call for "Black Power" by Stokeley Carmichael in the summer of 1966 struck fear in the hearts of many whites and in large part a white backlash movement was attributed to it. Undoubtedly two major causes for the white reaction were the recent history of race riots in 1964 and 1965, and the presence of a rapid communications system which fanned the fires of fear and equated Black Power with black violence and black revolution. Forgotten was the fact that most of the violence had occurred before the first cries of "Black Power" were heard. However, the magic of the phrase was too powerful to be resisted by the press and the fear of increased black violence and white annihilation spread throughout the country.

Black Power Defined

If Black Power is not a clarion call for racial violence and anti-white aggression, as it is believed to be by many whites, just what is it? In its simplest form Black Power is a plea for self-determinism, for a voice in decision-making. Clear and simply this translates to political power. As the concept in its most recent

form can be traced to Stokeley Carmichael let us look at him first for an analysis of the concept. In the book Black Power (1967), Carmichael and Hamilton point out that the principle of gradual integration which is the basis of the civil-rights program has lead to an intensification of the negro problems of self-identity and the continuance of the "submission-aggression syndrome." Integration is something that is given to the blacks by a benevolent white society and requires that the black, being in a minority and inferior position, continue to pay obeisance to the white man so as not to fall out of his good graces. Integration is a one-way street. Blacks are allowed to move in with the white society provided they behave themselves; there are few whites trying to integrate into the black society. The principle of integration then is still racist in that it presupposes that white is necessarily better than black and that if blacks wish to partake of the benefits of the white society they must necessarily emulate the whites. All too often, when it has occurred such integration as has existed in the North has not helped to solve the black's identity problems. Carmichael and Hamilton state,

"All too frequently, these "integrated" people are used to blunt the true feelings and goals of the black masses. They are picked as "Negro leaders," and the white power structure proceeds to talk to and deal only with them. Needless to say no fruitful meaningful dialogue can take place under such circumstances. Those hand-picked leaders have no viable constituency for which they can speak and act." (p. 31)

It may be that integration, under these terms, is a self-defeating process. In an analysis of bi-racial leadership interaction patterns, Thompson (1963) has identified three pairs of interactions; the segregationist-Uncle Tom, the moderate-racial diplomat, and the liberal-racist interaction. These pairs are the natural complement of each other. Integration, on the white man's terms, as a form of reward for good behavior leads directly to the principle of Uncle Tomism, and acceptance of their place by the Negroes as a sort of parasite-host relationship. This type of black leader reinforces the segregationist attitude of the white leader. On the other hand Thompson defines the liberal as one who accepts the inherent equality of all citizens and insists that "second-class citizenship is in fundamental contradiction with the principles of equality and freedom upon which our government is founded." If this is the true attitude of the white liberal who is in favor of civil rights and equality of the black race, then the complementary black attitude is that of the race man who does not apologize for his"Negro-ness"and feels that being a Negro should in no way interfere with his fundamental rights and duties as a citizen. By this analysis the concept of a white liberal society endorsing gradual integration as a reward for pseudo-white performance is an inherent conflict of ideas. If the white man is sincere in his protestations of civil rights then it behooves the black man to be in opposition to any behavior that relegates him to a position of second-class citizenship.

At the present time integration as a solution to the race problem demands that the black forswear his identity as a black. But for a lasting solution, the meaning of "American" must lose its implicit racial modifier, "white".

As we mentioned in an earlier paper the term "integration" is interpreted differently by blacks and whites. (Symonds 1969). To the white man it suggests social contact and ultimate miscegenation; to the black man the importance of integration is economic opportunity. Carmichael assumes that this equality can occur and be assured only through black political power. Here again the white attitude presupposes a desire on the part of the black man to emulate the white. Carmichael and Hamilton go further than to cry for political equality, they specifically revoke the white attitude towards integration.

"We also reject the assumption that the basic institutions of this society must be preserved. The goal of black people must not be to assimilate into middle-class America, for that class-- as a whole-- is without a viable conscience as regards humanity. The values of the middle-class permit the perpetuation of the ravages of the black community." (p. 40)

Thus the civil-rights movement, as it espouses integration, is a tacit acceptance of the basic morality, whereas the black power movement specifically revokes these existing values and calls for blacks to establish their own set of values.

The authors also call for a renovation and overhaul of the existing white institutions and the very structure of society. One of the new structures called for, of course, is the emergence of a new political party.

"Given the illegitimacy of the system, we cannot then proceed to transform that system with existing structures...The two major political parties in this country have become non-viable entities

for the legitimate representation of the real needs of the masses-- especially the blacks-- in this country." (p. 42)

Black Power then is not so much a battle cry to overcome oppression through open hostility, as many white's believe, but it is more a plea to the black people to unite around a common cause and realize the potential that is rightfully theirs.

"The concept of Black Power...is a call for black people in this country to unite, to recognize their heritage, to build a sense of community. It is a call for black people to define their own goals, to lead their own organizations and to support those organizations. It is a call to reject the racist institutions and values of this society." (p. 44)

The concept of Black Power is not necessarily isolationist; it is not a return to the "separate but equal" philosophy. Black Power does permit cooperation and coalition with the white community providing four conditions are met;

"(a) the recognition by the parties involved of their respective self-interests; (b) the mutual belief that each party stands to benefit in terms of that self-interests from allying with the other or others; (c) the acceptance of the fact that each party has its own independent base of power and does not depend for ultimate decision-making on a force outside itself; and (d) the realization that the coalition deals with specific and indentifiable-- as opposed to general and vague--goals." (p. 79-80)

"Black Power, therefore, has no connotation of 'go it alone.' Black Power simply says: enter coalitions only after you are able to stand on your own." (p. 81)

While the foregoing analysis is based mainly upon the report by Carmichael and Hamilton, numerous other proponents of Black Power have made similar statements. James Comer (1968) emphasizes the idea that Black Power is not necessarily color exclusive.

"The idea of creating Negro enterprises and institutions is not intended as a rejection of genuinely concerned white people or as an indictment of all existing organizations. White people of good will with interest, skills, and funds, are needed and--contrary to the provocative assertions of a few Negroes--are still welcome in the Negro community. The kind of "Black Power" that is proposed would not promote riots; rather by providing constructive channels for the energies released by the civil rights movement, it should diminish the violent outbursts directed against the two symbols of white power and oppression: the police and the white merchants." (p. 83)

In his book Black Power and Urban Unrest, Nathan Wright, Jr. (1967) emphasizes the importance of Negro leadership not only for the blacks but for the betterment of all American society.

"Negroes should long ago have perceived that enforced "integration" as a goal is a compromise of black Americans on the face. Negroes do not need the presence of white people either to give them worth or to learn--Desegregation includes substantial integration, but only as an incidental ingredient and not as a sought for goal." (p. 131-132)

"The black people of America most pointedly need power. Above all else they need the power for self-realization, to become themselves in all of the inherent possibilities which this signifies for the Negro's own good and for larger the good of the whole nation." (p. 156)

Yet again he states, "Black Power, as a concept emphasizing the need to bring a different focus to bear upon life itself and its possibilities, may open a pathway toward the renewal of American religious life." (p. 143)

Indeed this aspect of the moral good and ethical justification of the Black Power concept appears quite often. For example, Dick Gregory (1968) states,

"Don't ever give up. The white man knows you're trying to vote the gun out of his hand, and he won't let go easily. But this isn't a struggle of black against white, it's right against wrong. And wrong have never defeated right in all history." (p. 28)

In this respect the Black Power movement appears to take on the aspect of a religious crusade at least in the eyes of some of its leaders.

In another essay, Nathan Wright (1968) has said,

"There are certain clear differences between the civil rights movement and the impetus towards Black Power. The civil rights movement has asked for what was due to the Negro. The thrust toward Black Power does not ask what the black American is due. It seeks inherently to add the power, the latent and preciously needed potential, of black people for the enrichment of the life of the nation as a whole." (p. 114)

Vincent Harding (1968) has stated,

"Let us together find our own dignity and our own power, so that one day we may stand and face even those who have rejected us, no longer begging to be accepted into their dying world, but showing

them a world transformed, a world where we have shaped our own destiny. We shall build communities of our own, where men are truly brothers and goods are really shared. The American Christ is a Christ of separation and selfishness and relentless competition for an empty hole. We want no part of him." (p. 89)

In July of 1966 the National Conference on Black Power was held in Newark, New Jersey. Chuck Stone (1968) quotes a portion of the "Black Power Manifesto" which was officially passed by the conference;

"Control of African communities in America and other black communities and nations throughout the world still remains in the hands of white supremacy oppressors...It is, therefore, resolved that the National Conference on Black Power sponsor the creation of an International Black Congress, to be organized out of the soulful roots of our people and to reflect the new sense of power and revolution now blossoming in black communities in America and black nations throughout the world." (p. 195)

Thus, we see the international aspect of the Black Power movement. It is not conceptualized as a reaction of a few militant blacks in the Northern United States, but rather a revolutionary movement dedicated with religious fervor to achieve self-determinism, dignity, and black pride for black people throughout the world. In its deepest philosophical moment it is concerned with the destruction of the social order where any form of oppression prevails and the establishment of a new more humanistic society for all men. At the grass-roots level in America it is concerned with the development of

black controlled institutions, at least insofar as their influence extends to the black man. This includes black ownership of the economic resources in the community, black control of the Board of Education in communities where black is predominant and equitable representation on others where they constitute a minority, and black political power as a means of assuring the establishment and continuance of black self-determination and development and retention of black dignity and self-esteem.

As we have seen the Black Power Movement revokes the principles of non-violent demonstration as marked the early days of civil-rights movement. Just how far it has left the old order is evident from the statement of Stone regarding the attendance at the aforementioned Black Power Conference.

"The National Conference on Black Power was not a leaders' conference but a peoples' conference. Whitney Young, Roy Wilkins, Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., and Bayard Rustin were not there and nobody missed them. Floyd McKissick's presence more than equaled their collective absence." (Stone 1968, p. 195)

However, the fact that the new movement is opposed to non-violence is not necessarily an indication that blacks are in favor of violence as a means of protest. Violence is necessary only if the White community attempts to block through latent or manifest discrimination, the development of the principles as laid forth. Members of the movement are quite willing to resort to violence but do not advocate it. In the same way they are no longer content to accept the scraps that have been thrown to them in the name of civil-rights legislation.

The Black Power Movement, however, is not to be confused with the Black Muslims. Where the former base their appeal mainly upon equality, the philosophy of the latter is based upon black supremacy. The Black Muslims are basically a religious organization (although their religious values are somewhat subordinate to their supremacist ideas) more or less associated with the Moslems, although this is denied by most Moslems in the United States. The two movements do have somewhat similar goals at the grass-roots level, that is the control of economic and political resources which have direct relevance to the black community. However, the Muslims appear to view this as only a first step toward absolute supremacy and their goal as the chosen of Allah to be "the rightful ruler of the Planet Earth."

Both movements abhor the sit-in and civil rights movement for somewhat similar reasons, the cheapening of the dignity of the black man, however, the Muslims add the suggestion that it is ridiculous for the black man to try to force the white man to allow him to spend his money in the white man's restaurants when he should be supporting only black establishments. Lincoln (1961) suggests that the Black Muslims closely resemble the Garvey Movement of the post World War II era, i.e., the establishment of a totally black nation, consisting of all black men, which will be supreme in the world.

The Muslims also totally reject any possibility of collaboration with the white man while the Black Power Movement does accept the possibility of such alliances as mentioned earlier, under certain conditions.

Thus far we have spoken of the Black Power Movement as though it were an organized group. This is only partially our intention.

Within the somewhat loose confines of the Movement are several organizations, one of the most important and militant of which is that of The Black Panthers. As of this writing, there has not been a definitive study of the Black Panthers. We have no reliable indication of the size of the organization (even their official newspaper does not list a circulation figure). It is not known in what way the organization relates to the rest of the black people in the United States. Undoubtedly there is much support for the Panthers among the young but we do not know the attitude of the older generation. We can only look at survey research data which mostly pre-dates the founding of their Party. We shall examine this data shortly. Our use of the term "Black Power" is not necessarily restricted to any one particular organization. Generally speaking it encompasses all blacks who support the philosophy of black power as exemplified in the preceding pages.

Demography of and Support for Black Power

In the previous section we discussed the major Black movements advocating radical change in the white and black society. We will now examine two important aspects of the movements; how extensive are they, and who constitutes membership; what is the demographic make-up of them?

There is considerable dispute as to the size of the following of the Black Muslims. In his analysis of the Black Muslims, Eric Lincoln states that they are;

"an intensely dedicated, tightly disciplined block of more than 100,000 American Negroes, convinced that they have learned the ultimate

truth and ready to make any sacrifice it may demand of them." (p. 17)

On the other hand Howard Elinson (1966) argues that no one really knows the size of the group, Muslim spokesman have claimed 250,000 followers, and several scholars suggest the figure 100,000. However, he states that,

"a count of the number of Black Muslim mosques around the country and their approximate seating capacity, careful tabulation of attendance figures at public rallies, and the independent estimates of Time, Newsweek, and the New York Times suggest that the actual membership is between five and ten thousand." (p. 357)

Even accepting the estimate of the Muslims themselves, their membership constitutes no more than 1% of the black population in the United States and probably considerably less. It is understood, of course, that even only 5,000 well organized protesters can cause considerable dislocation of society, however, insofar as a political pressure group is concerned, their power is considerably weakened by the fact that much of their membership is composed of lower-class males, a particularly weak member of the black community. For our purposes, the Black Muslims are even less a concern in that basic to their philosophy is the requirement that they live respectably and provide for their families. They are encouraged to work and donate generously to the church. They are also forbidden to gamble, smoke, drink liquor, or buy on credit. In short, they are to all outward appearances the epitome of the Protestant Ethic. One aspect of the organization that does add to their political power, however, is their unswerving faithfulness to Muhammad, "They will,

for example, vote as Muhammad tells them to vote and buy where he tells them to buy." (Lincoln, p. 18) In communities where they have their largest following they can present a modicum of political and economic power.

Insofar as the membership of the various organizations which form the Black Power Movement is concerned, the data is sketchy, mainly because of the relative newness of the organization and the lack of time to have carefully formulated studies of the Movement. Also the Black Power situation is in such a rapid state of change that it is virtually impossible to come by accurate up-to-date data. A study of the black protest movement is reported by Marx in Protest and Prejudice (1967). It must be borne in mind that the data gathered for this study is now five years old. The data reflects attitudes existent before Watts, the death of Malcolm X, the rift in the civil-rights movement which resulted in the Black Power Movement, and many of the riots in the major cities in the United States. Undoubtedly there have been many changes within both the white and black communities. However, the study is still extremely valuable as it is still probably the best and most definitive study dealing with the development of militantism within the black community, the militantism which spawned the Black Power Movement. Also, as Marx mentions in his preface an independent study by Newsweek magazine reported in August 1966 shows results very similar to those in this study.

The study sampled 1,119 Negro adults in various cities in the North and South. From the responses Marx developed an index of

the basic tenets of the Black Power Movement per se, the data is indicative of the general trend toward militancy in the cities representative of these sampled. Although not directly reported by Marx, his data permits a secondary analysis as to the extent of militantism. He breaks down the responses to his scale into three categories; conservative, moderate, and militant, according to the number of militant responses on the eight scale index. The percentages for the total sample are conservative, 20%; moderate, 53%; and militant, 27%. As could be expected the greatest percentage of militantism occurred in the Northern cities (New York 45% and Chicago 27%), while the South was less militant. (Atlanta, 16% militant; and Birmingham, 19%).

The responses to some other individual questions are interesting as they point to relative acceptance of Black Power ideas. Respondents were asked which of three groups was doing the most at the present time to help Negroes. An overwhelming majority, approximately 80% of the sample chose the NAACP, while less than 10% mentioned CORE (one of the active organizations in the development of the Black Power Movement, and only 2-3% chose the Muslims. These figures were also borne out by responses to commendation of civil rights leaders, with Martin Luther King receiving almost 90% of the choices. Approximately 50% of the sample indicated specific disapproval of the Muslims and Malcolm X. Only a little over 20% of all respondents indicated membership in any civil rights organizations, while about 50% said they would like to see more demonstrations, but 40% indicated a preference for fewer demonstrations.

An interesting reaction is evident to the statement "Negroes some day are going to rise to the leadership of the world." Approximately 70% of the sample agreed with this statement, ranging from 59% in the North to 83% in the South. This is a direct plank in the ideology of the Black Muslims, however, it would seem to be unrelated to approval of the organization as a whole as mentioned above.

A more recent survey also does not indicate a great deal of support for militantism. The CBS News Public Opinion Survey (1968) sampled 478 Negroes and 587 Whites throughout the nation in the summer of 1968. When asked to indicate their acceptance of various forms of protest only 6% of the blacks sampled chose "demonstrations that might lead to violence" as a good way for people to get what they want. They accepted wholeheartedly such behaviors as "holding meetings," and indicated substantial support for "peaceful demonstrations," and "boycotting and picketing stores and businesses."

The sample was asked to choose from a given list, those reasons which they felt had "a lot to do" with causing the riots. The statement that "they were a way for the black people to take over the cities" was selected by only 3% of the sample. By far the most often chosen alternative (56%) for indicating a reason for the demonstrations was that they were "a rebellion against the way Negroes were being treated." 31% of the choices indicated they were "a way for Negroes to help get equal rights for themselves," 24% attributed the riots to "young kids looking for excitement," and 22% blamed "Negroes getting back at businessmen who cheat them."*

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* The totals add to more than 100% as many respondents chose more than one alternative.

This data seems to indicate that there is far from unanimous agreement in the Black community as to the causes of the unrest. Far more Negroes attribute it to a reaction to oppression than to a positive, productive action against society designed to improve the status quo. This again tends to indicate that most Blacks do not tend to interpret the unrest in terms of the credo of the Black Power Movement.

Two of the most interesting questions in the survey relate directly to the Black Power question. When presented with a list of names of Negro leaders and asked whose ideas on the list they mostly agree with, Stokeley Carmichael was selected only 6% of the time, H. Rap Brown, 5% and Floyd McKissick only 4% of the time. By comparison, Ralph Abernathy received 53% of the choices and Roy Wilkens, 25%. Only 4% expressed disagreement with Ralph Abernathy and Roy Wilkins, whereas 38% disapproved of Stokeley Carmichael and 35% disagreed with H. Rap Brown. (Both of the latter are leaders in the Black Power Movement, while the others are considered to be more moderate).

The other important piece of data for our purposes appears in a question that listed a number of items with which the respondent was asked to express his favorability. The basic plank of the Black Power Movement is black control of the black communities, yet this alternative was chosen only 22% of the time and was one of the items most objected to by the blacks (51% of the choices). Actually the white respondents indicated greater favor with black control of black communities; 26% accepted the idea and 26% expressed objections. Black approval for some of the other items on the list included;

"better police protection for Negro neighborhoods," (78%); "bussing Negro students to better schools"(62%) (Carmichael specifically denies the acceptability of this action); "a guaranteed minimum family income" (77%); "more government job training programs for Negroes" (89%). It seems clear that a large majority of the respondents in this study are in favor of improving the Black situation by working within the existing framework of the society, and oppose the ideas of Black Power. Unfortunately there was no breakdown by class level in this study so it is impossible to gauge the extent of support by socio-economic level.

A survey taken in 1967 by the Institute for Social Research in Ann Arbor, Michigan, supports this CBS data. It revealed that almost 80% of the Blacks surveyed expressed faith in the present system and felt they could work within the system and get ahead despite prejudice. (Campbell and Schumann, 1967). It would seem from the above results that as of 1968 militantism was still not representative of the bulk of the black population.

We might also look at some unobtrusive measures as an indication of change. One of the tenets of Black Power is that "black is beautiful," a claim to increased dignity of the black man. Even casual observation of television indicates an increased number of "natural" black hairdos, and a recent popularity of Afro fashions. Only a few years ago one of the major products advertised in the magazines Ebony and Tan were hair straighteners and bleaching creams. Today such advertisements are virtually non-existent. In their place, however, are advertisements for wigs, almost equally distributed

between straight hair and "natural" hair. Apparently there is still some ambivalence as to the extent of natural "black beauty." In passing it is worth mentioning that a content analysis of such sources would not be totally remiss as a means of partially validating some opinion survey data.

Another popular aspect of the social revolution is that of the concept of "soul." It may in truth reveal a legitimate idealization of the black culture. Then again, it could also be a rationalization for failure in a gradually improving situation.

By definition of most Negroes, "soul" is a quality that can be possessed only by Negroes and constitutes all aspects of what is uniquely Negro-ness. It applies particularly to Negro music and food. Hannerz (1968) has pointed out that "soul" is largely a lower-class northern Negro concept. Some Negroes even doubt that middle-class Negroes possess it. It is almost unanimous that only Negroes possess it. Also, it is an aspect of Negro talk that is almost wholly restricted to young men. The "soul" reasoning follows the idea that "non-Negro" is "non-soul" and thereby somewhat less human. Hannerz analyses the emergence of the "soul" concept at this time in history as a reaction to changes in the opportunity structure available to the ghetto dweller. Recent changes in race relations have made some of the barriers to achievement seem less impermeable. To an increasing amount the Negro is receiving more chances at success. His opportunities of moving out of the ghetto are increasing. Indeed every day he sees others taking advantage of job training opportunities and educational programs. He thereby

cannot rely on the rationalization that he is not moving up because of impregnable barriers rather than through any inherent disability on his part. Hannerz, then, suggests that through the derrogation of everything that is not a part of his life and experience and a complimentary raising up of everything that is part of his life style, the Negro is alleviating the dissonance created by his continual failure. "Being a soul brother is belonging to a select group instead of to a residual category of people who have not succeeded" (Hannerz 1968, p. 61). The Negroes use the concept of "soul" to suggest that "achievement according to mainstream ideals, is not necessarily achievement according to their own ideals."

The concept of "soul" could also be interpreted as supplying the Negro with a means to achieving identity and raising his self-esteem, psychodynamics which appear to be critical in the life of the ghetto-dweller.

We may also look upon the emergence of "soul" and indeed the entire militant black movement, today as another indication of an often observed phenomenon; i.e., oppressed people rarely activate themselves to improve their situation until the first steps toward improvement have occurred. It is extremely difficult to become politically active when your stomach is empty. Political activity only begins to interest people when they feel they have already made minor gains which they wish to protect and at the same time feel justified in the eventual successful outcome of their venture.

Whichever interpretation is accepted, the important idea to be learned from the discussion is the dynamic aspect of the ghetto and indeed all Negro-white relations. There is in reality a Negro

revolution taking place in this country and as such there will undoubtedly be many changes occurring which directly affect the life-situation of both races. We must be fully cognizant of this situation both in our investigations and in our interpretation of our findings. Social awareness, militancy, and self-esteem are increasing within the black community but the extent of such change is not clear. Hard and recent survey research data is necessary to adequately assess the development of Black militancy.

The survey reported by Marx does address itself more effectively to questions concerning the source of changing ideology. Briefly, militancy in his study was directly related to the Northern urban areas, increased education, income, and occupation as indicative of social status, social mobility, and extent of social participation. It was also positively related to such psychological variables as a broad perspective F scale score, knowledge of Negro culture figures, intellectual orientation, morale, health, favorable self-image, and social involvement. Militancy was inversely related to age and religiosity and religious orthodoxy.

Numerous social scientists have commented on the apparent fact that protest by the oppressed often becomes most violent as the oppression is easing. While oppression is at its greatest the oppressed people do not react violently, but as the situation begins to improve their reactions often become extreme. There would seem to be evidence for this in the black community. Often the differences in militancy in Marx's study were considerably large across several important variables. For example, percentage of

militancy increased from 8% to 55% from the lowest to the highest social class level; and from 9% to 46% on an index of social participation. Further evidence for militancy increasing with the favorableness of the situation was available in analysis of social mobility. While the middle and upper classes generally were more militant than the lower classes, those who were upwardly mobile were considerably more militant than those who had received a measure of social privilege for a greater length of time.

However, there is a very large question as to the comparability of present-day militancy and that examined by Marx. As we have seen the Black Power Movement has come a long way from the philosophy of the non-violent protest of the past decade. While data is sketchy, it seems that the more revolutionary protest encompassed in the Black Power Movement receives most of its support from young black males, probably largely from the unemployed ranks of the lower-class (although this conjecture is open to verification by statistical analysis). Militancy as depicted by Marx, on the other hand, is largely a phenomenon of the relatively affluent and socially aware blacks, although here again militancy was inversely related to age.

It may very well be that there are at least two separate movements taking place in the black community; this gives rise to several research questions. What is the extent of the support for each form of protest? If we are to examine the mass media we rapidly gain an impression that violent black protest is the norm in the ghetto and that a violent uprising is imminent. This seems

somewhat removed from reality. The mass media is very efficient in creating images that are varyingly removed from reality. If all we see on television and read about in the press are reports of black violence we rapidly assume that such is all about us. And yet we forget that the media samples from a vast collection of behaviors in any day those which will be reported. One of the major criteria for newsworthiness of an item is its unusualness. (Dog bites man is little news). By focusing on such events the unusual becomes common, at least in the eye of the beholder. It is for this reason at least that it becomes imperative that careful research and survey analysis determine the extent and confines of the movement under study. The fact that we are made aware every day of actions of black violence does not mean that twenty million blacks are rebelling. This would not be the first time that the mass media has "created" a crisis. On the other hand it is not the contention of this paper to deny the existence of a major social change taking place in American society, black and white. Such a position would be patently ridiculous. Certain segments of the black community today hold drastically different positions, ideas, and behavioral expectations than did a similar segment as little as a decade ago. The major problem that exists is that in spite of the research and survey data of the last few years we still are left wondering what are the characteristics of this social revolution. How does social class affect activity in and style of social protest? What are the parameters of age groups who are involved? There is a large social protest movement among the youth in the white society in America.

To what extent can parallels be drawn between the white and black protest? We need to know what effect increased economic rewards have on the direction and extent of protest exemplified by any one individual. Does the existence of a stable income mediate the extent of expressed protest by an individual? If the philosophy and activities of protest will continue after the individual is favorably located in the occupational sphere this would seem to have important consequences for his continuance in the role of the employed. These and many other questions need clarification before we can achieve a true understanding of the extent of the black power movement and hope to predict or interpret some of its ramifications.

White Reaction to Black Power

It might be productive to look briefly at the white reaction to the changes in the black community over the past few years. Unfortunately, once again we are hindered by the absence of truly recent data, but the existing data can at least provide a basis for some interesting insights.

Mildred Schwartz (1967) provides a fairly recent summary of several surveys taken in the early 1960's, and a few earlier, to analyze trends in white attitudes towards Negroes. Of particular interest to us are her findings relevant to the Civil Rights Movement. In 1963, white changes in attitudes of favorableness to integration clearly depended upon education level. In two separate studies in that year there was a direct relationship between education and favorableness to integration, particularly in the South. The lower the educational level the less the favorability to integration and

conversely the higher the level the greater the reported change in favorableness to integration. The pattern was similar though not so strong in the North. However, there was only a small difference in total reported favorableness between North and South respondents with those in the North being slightly more in favor. Apparently Southern attitudes which once were much less favorable to integration are showing signs of catching up with attitudes to integration in the North.

However, this is only a part of the story. Regional differences expressing favorability to such topics as integrated housing and education are much greater between the North and the South than are those attitudes expressing general acceptance of integration. This suggests that perhaps the general more abstract value-oriented attitudes toward the changing Negro situation are fairly similar in the North and the South. However, there are large regional differences with regard to specific aspects of integration with more resistance to the instrumentalities in the South.

There is further evidence regarding differences between general values and specific indicators of them in the Brink and Harris (1964) poll conducted for Newsweek magazine in 1963. In their study there was little difference between South and Nationwide attitudes towards Negro rights such as the right to vote, job opportunities, decent housing, etc. However, there were very large regional differences with regard to support for civil rights legislation and federal enforcement action which would have the effect of bringing reality more into line with the expressed values.

The North-South differences uncovered in many studies relate more to methods of alleviating racial differences rather than to actual values regarding inter-racial relations. For example, 93% of the Nationwide and 88% of the South respondents expressed approval of Negroes voting in elections, however, only 31% of the South expressed approval of a Federal vote-enforcement law whereas 57% of the Nationwide sample approved. Then again 78% of the South and 82% of the Nationwide sample favored decent housing for Negroes, but only 29% of the South respondents favored the public accommodations bill. The comparable figure for the Nationwide sample was 66%.

A considerable extent of the regional differences in attitudes may be attributable to the historical isolationism of the South and their resentment of the North interfering in what they consider to be local affairs. This, of course, is not meant to infer that the racial situation is no different in the North than in the South but only that the variable of regional autonomy would seem to be important in endeavoring to assess attitudes toward integration.

There are important major differences in attitudes between the North and the South. For example, the same survey indicated a much higher percentage of stereotyping in the South. 80% of the South but only 55% of the Nationwide white sample felt Negroes had looser morals; the figures were 60% and 39% believing Negroes have less native intelligence than whites.

The fact of differences regarding responses relevant to general values as compared with specific instrumentalities becomes

evident also when whites are questioned regarding what they feel are the goals of the civil rights movement. By far the largest majority cited economic and educational equality. Only a small percentage mentioned political equality. Whites do not apparently recognize political power as being important in achieving the other "equalities." The need for political power is one of the major tenets of the black power movement. Continued failure of the white community to recognize the existence of this requirement in itself is one of the major white misunderstandings of the black power movement. This fact is all the more surprising in that a great impetus at the time of the survey was the agitation of Negroes in registering to vote. Failure of the whites to recognize fully the importance of this pressure probably also is indicative of a general failure on the part of the white community to recognize the importance and the power of enfranchisement, particularly for minority groups.

An indication of the white community to comprehend fully the civil rights movement is evident in the responses to the question, "Who do you think is really behind the recent Negro actions -- would you say it is the Negro people themselves, or some other person or group?" Approximately 40% of the respondents in the North and 50% of those in the South believed it was some other person or group, the major scapegoat being the Communist Party. Apparently almost half of the white community fails to realize that the Black community was sufficiently agitated to bring about an uprising on their own.

Generally speaking there has been an increase in the number of Whites who believe that the demonstrations hurt the Negro cause. This, of course, is part of the so-called white backlash. The percentage who responded in this way rose from 66% in 1963 to 81% in 1964. Interestingly enough, at the same time a number of blacks expressed similar opinions. Marx's data indicates that approximately 40% of blacks expressed a desire to see fewer demonstrations and over 60% felt that violence would never help the Negroes get equal rights. More recent data in this regard should prove interesting. One may wonder how a movement based upon demonstrations can succeed when a majority of people on both sides feel the demonstrations can only hurt the cause. It is also noteworthy that shortly after these two polls were taken, violence and demonstrations increased radically.

In summary, Mildred Schwartz states that "Whites may agree that Negroes should have these civil rights, but they hide from the fact that actions distasteful to them must be employed to guarantee that equal rights become reality." (p. 101). It is just this kind of attitude that enforces the opinion of the black power leaders that the only way the Negro cause is going to improve is for the blacks themselves to assume positions of power and authority. No great good can come from continuing to wait for white handouts.

It is difficult and perhaps futile to endeavor to predict the kinds of changes that will occur and are occurring within the black community as a result of the black power movement. Too many variables are involved and too much is contingent upon the extent of the repressive action of the white power structure. If the guidelines

of those involved in the movement are recognized and legitimated in the dominant society there is some reason to express optimism regarding the eventual outcome. However, should the white community offer concerted resistance to the black demands for meaningful representation in the power structure then there is considerable concern for the continuance of a relatively peaceful society. Proponents of black power have in effect issued an ultimatum that if they can not enjoy part of the good life then no one will be allowed to. From what they have learned as a result of demonstrations and riots there is every reason to believe that theirs is not an idle threat. Progress must continue to be made at an ever increasing rate towards integration and accession to black demands or there must be violent and severe repressive action by the white power structure.

While it is to be hoped that the latter can be avoided and that continued improvement of the situation will be the norm it is interesting to look briefly at what could be termed the unanticipated consequences of social action. Undoubtedly progress has been made in the last few years toward improving the life experiences of the black community generally. It may very well be that the tangible material indications of the civil rights movement will not be the only good effect. Solomon et al (1966) have examined some of the concommitants of civil rights activity. They examined several cities in both the North and South in which demonstrable civil rights activity had occurred. By examining police reports of Negro crime rates of violence against other Negroes and also the incidence of

Negro injuries reported in the emergency wards of hospitals they discovered a considerable decrease in Negro violence directed towards other Negroes in cities during the time of civil rights demonstrations. It could be argued that Negroes were just too involved with their demonstrations and other activity to partake of non-civil rights oriented violent behavior. This interpretation is partially discounted by the fact that no other crime rates in these cities showed any significant variation. Negro crimes against whites and white crimes of violence against Negroes and other whites remained stable, while aggravated assaults of Negroes against other Negroes dropped by 31%.

The interpretation offered by the authors is that the civil rights activity had the effect of improving the self-image of the Negroes and in this way lowered the tendency to strike out at each other in a form of self-hatred. Being a Negro partaking in civil rights activity suddenly became something of which to be proud and which improved the concept of self identity.

This, of course, is only one interpretation and a tentative one at best. One might argue that civil rights activity had the effect of keeping the police busy in certain sectors and removed them from much of the ghetto area. Without the presence of the constant reminder of the white power structure there could result a lowering of frustration and a consequent decrease in aggression. This argument might make as much sense as the opposite alternative of increased police surveillance in the time of crisis.

Whatever the true cause, civil rights activity did have an

unanticipated positive side effect. We have seen the importance of considering the decreased evaluation of self and the identity problem that seems to be a part of Negro life at least in the lower classes. If indeed the civil rights activity was responsible for an improvement in self-image of the Negroes then such activity should have far reaching consequences. "In the long run, the effect of the civil rights movement on the self image and social behavior of the American Negro will be as important as the movement's direct effect on segregation patterns." (Solomon et al., 1966, p. 338).

By way of conclusion we may direct a few remarks regarding the adequacy of most of the data cited in this report. As we are dealing specifically with Black Power there is first the obvious shortcoming that much of the data cited is only peripherally related to the precepts of Black Power. This, of course, is attributable to the fact that there is very little survey data available that post-dates the movement. We have mentioned that the militancy index of Marx did not capture the true aspects of Black Power. The CBS News survey, which does deal more or less directly with a few related questions, does not provide a breakdown of the data demographically and socio-economically. This is not an indictment of these studies per se, but rather a lament about the paucity of adequate hard data relevant to the question. For instance there is almost no recent data dealing with the dominant values that exist in the various levels of the black community. A large amount of what we think we know about the situation is at best only educated guesses. Why this should be so is unfortunate. There is an immense amount of literature dealing with

various aspects of the black community (the American Academy of Arts and Sciences bibliography lists over 3,500 publications in the decade between 1954 and 1964). Much of the literature is mostly speculative or descriptive, based upon small specific samples and does not provide a clear picture of the black situation. One exception, of course, is the Marx study, but it is unfortunately now more than five years old and in light of the occurrences in the society since then it must be somewhat suspect as to its present day applicability, at least until more recent data is available.

Another of the problems of some of the data is the manner in which it was collected. It is likely that black respondents will supply different information to white interviewers than to black interviewers. Unfortunately many researchers do not supply us with relevant information. Even when the race of the respondent is matched to that of the interviewer there is still the problem of a class difference biasing effect. We do not know how low-class black respondents react to a middle-class black interviewer. There is evidence that there is often considerable enmity between classes. The question of this possible area for bias is one we should have information about.

A third criticism offered is that of the extent of the knowledge of the respondents to the questions asked. For example asking a person if he agrees with or disagrees with the ideas of Stokeley Carmichael, presupposes that the respondent is familiar with these ideas and that his knowledge of the ideas is correct. If this information is gathered, it is unfortunately not often reported.

It is true that the CBS News Survey did ask the respondents if they had heard of the particular person named. This would seem to be only the first approach necessary in gathering information of this sort. Knowledge of the existance of an individual is not the same thing as knowledge about his ideas and beliefs. It is doubtful that a majority of the white community who express hostility towards the Black Power Movement could give an adequate description of the major goals of the Movement. In order to gather a true picture of the situation, it is necessary also to obtain an indication of the information available to the respondents.

Another aspect of the information supplied by the respondent is that of the relevance or salience of the beliefs. This one criticism may be the most important of all. A large amount of social science data of the sort we have been examining is gathered by asking respondents whether or not they agree with a particular position or item. There is very seldom a probe into the strength of commitment to a belief held by the respondent. This factor is very important, particularly in an emotionally charged area of investigation such as black-white problems. For example, it was noted earlier that attitudes in the North and South were very similar regarding the dominant goals of the black community, however, the South was much less permissive regarding the instrumentalities necessary to bring about these values. A very simple explanation of these differences could be the strength of the commitment to the dominant goals. These goals while being agreeable to both groups may be much more important to the respondents in the North, so

important that they are willing to accept the instrumentalities that are repugnant to those in the South.

Undoubtedly each person has a hierarchy of values. Without knowing the relative strength of beliefs we are hard-pressed to account for the meaningfulness of our data, let alone make any predictions from it. Respondents in the South may value State's Rights more so than they value the goals of integration. In the event of a conflict, the value with the least strength will temporarily suffer.

In summary the area of black-white relations does not suffer so much from a lack of interest and study, as from the absence of a continuing program of carefully constructed research that systematically builds upon past knowledge. The continuous aspect of the need for new directions in research can not be over-stated. One survey research laboratory engaged in nothing other than a continuing, ongoing, investigation of the changing aspects of the black-white situation would seem to be a highly useful adjunct to the scientific research of a highly dynamic situation.

BLACK POWER AND FUTURE RESEARCH

Such dynamic change that appears to be taking place in at least certain parts of the black community can not help but have implications for social research. It would be advisable to offer some tentative observations on its likely impact. These observations must be tentative for reasons delineated earlier in the paper, namely that the extent and demography of the black power movement is still not well understood and documented. Hence the extent of the effects on

social research must also be only conjecture at this time.

For the past several centuries it has been functional for the black man in America to tell the white man what he thinks the white man wants to hear. Throughout black American history blacks have operated generally on the principle of maintaining the status quo. They have generated an image of the carefree, happy-go-lucky, somewhat lazy child, not wanting responsibility and not being concered about accepting inferior status. For a number of reasons this image has been relatively functional. The main purpose it served was to keep the black man out of trouble. Being in an inferior position he did not wish to antagonize any white man.

Along with the civil-rights and black power movements this image is changing. One of the major visible effects of the black revolution is this tendency for blacks to speak up and to "tell it like it is." There may be little or no change in their fear of and/or hatred for the white man but now it is being expressed whereas for centuries it has been largely covert.

This change has had at least two major consequences for social research. First, changes in attitude responses of blacks may not reflect actual attitude changes so much as a greater freedom to express actual opinions. In short, it is difficult to assess how much the true opinions of blacks have changed over the past two decades because of this greater freedom of expression. When we see great differences occurring between responses of the young and those of the older blacks we must view with some suspicion the tendency to interpret this gap as a true generational gap in attitudes. It may

reflect also a greater tendency towards reticence of expression on the part of the older generation, who were socialized under the old norms of maintaining the status quo. It would therefore seem advisable to develop techniques of greater sensitivity than many current attitude and opinion questionnaires if we wish to understand the true feelings of the older generation. There are, of course, two sides to this reaction. While the older blacks are less eager to disturb the status quo and upset the white man, the younger militants may over-react and go to the opposite extreme. In short, it would seem advisable to view responses to questionnaires by any subsample of blacks with some suspicion.

A second consequence of the change in the black community may very well be a growing lack of willingness among the more militant to take part in social research. While in the past blacks have co-operated , if for no other reason than to placate the white researcher, today many blacks feel they have been studied and probed all they are going to allow. The white social worker, sociologist, census taker, Government welfare agent and numerous other representatives of the white power structure have endlessly quizzed the black man. He sees no advantages to himself arising out of his cooperation. Furthermore, since he lives in a hostile environment he can not help but view with suspicion any one who asks questions. With the increase in militancy the black man tends to become less cooperative with respect to these projects of the white man. The effects of militancy then may be seen in changes of both style and frequency of the black man's responses.

It becomes important to endeavor to determine which respondents

are affected in what manner. We might assume that all blacks can be located on a bi-polar scale from pacificism through liberal civil-rightsism to militantism. To a variable degree the factors that identify militantism will also mediate the response style and frequency. The problem then is to determine what are actual differences in attitudes and what are merely artifacts resulting from the same variables mediating both militantism and response style. The middle-class black conservative might give very different responses to a questionnaire than the ghetto militant, yet their actual beliefs may not be as far apart as the responses indicate. The militant may be giving a more honest response than the conservative. It would seem useful to attempt to obtain independent measures of beliefs and, if possible, response-style. Multi-method approaches are of the utmost importance and wherever possible, unobtrusive measures should also be used as a means of validation of more direct research data.

The problem of differential response frequency or lack of cooperation requires a different set of research techniques than the first problem. As mentioned earlier, the black power movement expressly allows for coalitions with the white world under four clearly defined conditions. If we can apply these criteria for coalition to research cooperation we can perhaps gain an insight as to the kind of circumstances that are necessary to achieve maximum, or at least adequate cooperation. The criteria given are that the project must; a) serve the self-interest of both parties, b) provide the belief that both parties will benefit in terms of their self-

interest from the cooperation, c) function from the realization of an independent base of power for each party, and d) deal with specific and identifiable -- as opposed to general and vague--goals.

If we bear in mind each of these criteria in designing research and collecting the data it may be possible to achieve the goal of cooperation. The first two criteria are tied together. In order to achieve them it is necessary that the research be meaningful to the blacks and that they fully expect some benefit from participation in the project. It is no longer acceptable to expect cooperation from the black community on the basis of the scientific value of the study. While white respondents will usually provide an immense range of information to a relatively unknown poll-taker, the militant black respondent is probably more likely to refrain from revealing any information until he is sure that such information will not be used against him and furthermore that it will be used for him and that he will be able to either benefit directly or be relatively convinced of the early ultimate benefit to him or his people. These criteria must be met at all levels of the research project. The project must itself be meaningful and important, not just to the white researcher, but to the black respondent. All questions in the survey must reflect this meaningfulness. The interviewer must pay particular attention to the establishment of rapport. In this regard it is probably advisable to use black interviewers, but they must be of a special type. They must be able to engender confidence on the part of the respondents and they must be able to communicate and identify with the respondent. It is inadvisable to expect a black conservative to

interview a black militant successfully. The interviewer must be able not only to identify with the respondent but also to be familiar with the research project and its goals and to be able to communicate this information to the respondents. Using a black interviewer just for the sake of his color can be more disastrous than having a white interviewer attempt to gather the data. If the black respondents do not trust and identify with the interviewer fully they will rapidly suspect that here again is a black man being used to do white man's work and thereby refuse to cooperate. Next to the setting up of the questionnaire or other research tools to be used, the choice and training of an interviewer is probably the most important aspect of the project. In passing, it is worth suggesting that a non-white, non-black interviewer may be acceptable. However, it would seem to be necessary to assure that the status of the interviewer be equal or just slightly higher than that of the blacks. For example, black Africans might have difficulty gathering data because there is some tendency on the part of black Americans to derrogate them to lower status.

Insofar as the criterion of an independent base of power is concerned the important aspect is that the project and the interviewer treat the respondent as an equal. Here again this must be made explicit rather than only implicit. The project must not be tendered on the basis of the white man attempting to help the black man. This approach carries with it the idea of two separate levels of power. The image must be presented that the research findings can be used by both parties, whites and blacks, for their mutual benefit. Black

militants have become extremely suspicious of "benevolent" white men. They have had too much experience with such groups that have not turned out to be advantageous for them. Hence the research should avoid such suggestions that the white man is attempting to solve the black man's problems. To many blacks the white man is their problem and he can best solve it by not interfering with their attempts at establishing an independent power base. The research should make it clear that it will be mutually beneficial for both blacks and whites to achieve better understanding, communication and interaction.

The final criterion is that of emphasizing specific and identifiable goals. One of the platforms of the Black Power Movement is that of action NOW. Under this philosophy it becomes meaningless to suggest to the blacks that the research will give whites better knowledge of black values or norms or to suggest that it will somehow improve race relations. The respondent must be told exactly what the project entails, what are its goals and how it will achieve them. It is unreasonable to expect the black respondent to believe that his answers to various questions dealing with his behavior under certain situations will somehow help him to get a job. He realizes that one of the major problems which interfere with his employment is that of institutional racism. He can not gain access to unions; public transportation often avoids his area of residence; the educational system is geared to maintenance of the status quo; these conditions are keeping the black man down. However, a research project that carefully clarifies for him that the information he provides regarding his behaviors and attitudes will assist whites in understanding his motivations and

thereby help to eliminate misunderstandings on the job that have in the past lead to his dismissal, may be meaningful to him. This has probably happened to him many times. He has been fired or berated for things he has done and for which he can not understand the reason. If the white boss knows what behaviors to expect and why to expect them he may be better able to cope with them and hence may be less likely to fire the black man.

This discussion has indicated that research is becoming much more difficult to conduct in the black community. There are, of course, valid reasons for this which we must accept. It is however doubtful that good, meaningful research is impossible to do, or even much more difficult than before. It is generally the loose, poorly conceived and inadequately planned and expedited research that will suffer the most. Meaningful research that reveals the possibility of immediate applications, that is well conceived and presented in an atmosphere of equality will probably succeed. While the problems of conducting research in the black community do seem to be increasing,a consequence may be that the obtained data will be more valid. If respondents will not cooperate unless they see some mutual benefit and self-interest then it seems likely that in cases when they do cooperate they have a greater commitment to the project and the information they supply. Such a consequence could be extremely beneficial in weeding out a great deal of the less meaningful research before it gets done rather than after it gets published.

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Footnote

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